GERMAN ELECTIONS: Page 5

THE MILITANT

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CHINA

Manifesto of the International Left Opposition

During the last few months a considerable peasant movement has again appeared in certain provinces of Southern China. Not only the world press of the proletariat, but the press of its enemies as well, is filled with the echoes of this struggle. Deceived, defeated, emasculated, the Chinese revolution still shows that it is alive. Let us hope that the time when it will again lift its proletarian head is not far off. And in order to be ready for this, we must put the problem of the Chinese revolution on the order of the day of the working class of the world.

We, the International Left Communist Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) consider it our duty to raise our voices now, in order to atract the attention of all Communists, all advanced,revolutionary workers to the task of liberating the great country of the Asiatic East, and in order to warn them at the same time against the false policy of the leading faction of the Communist International, which obviously threatens to undermine the future Chinese revolution as it ruined the revolution of 1925-27.

The symptoms of the resurrection of the Chinese revolution in the country indicate its inner forces and immense potentialities. But the task is how to transform these potentialities into reality. The first condition of success is to understand what is happening i. e., to give a Marxian definition of the moving forces and to evaluate correctly the stage which the struggle has reached at the present moment. In both these tasks the leadership of the Comintern is wrong.

Is There a Soviet Government?

The Stalinist press is full of communications about a "Soviet Government" established in vast provinces of China under the protection of a Red Army. Workers of various countries are excitedly greeting this news. Of course! The establishment of a Soviet government in a considerable part of China and the creation of a Chinese Red Army would mean a gigantic success for the international revolution. But we must state openly and clearly: **it is not yet true.**

In spite of the meagerness of the information which reaches us from the vast spaces of China our Marxian understanding of the developing process enables us to reject with complete confidence the Stalinist point of view of the present events. They are false and extremely dangerous for the further development of the revolution.

The history of China has been for centuries a history of menacing uprisings of a destitute and hungry peasantry. Not less than five times in the last twc thousand years have the Chinese peasants succeeded in accomplishing a complete redivision of the landed property. Each time the process of its concentration would begin anew asd continue until again the growth of the population produced a partial or general explosion. This vicious circle was an expression of economic and social stagnancy.

Only the inclusion of China in world economy opened new possibilities for the Chinese people. Capitalism invaded China fom the outside. The backward Chinese bourgeoisie became an intermediary between foreign capital and the mercilessly exploited masses of their own country. The foreign imperialists together with the Chinese bourgeoisie combine the methods of capitalist exploitation with the methods of feudal oppression and enslavement through usury.

The fundamental idea of the Stalinists has been to transform the Chinese bourgeoisie into a leader of the national revolution against feudalism and imperialism. The consequences of this political strategy ruined the revolution. The Chinese proletariat paid dearly for a knowledge of the

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Hoover Advises Labor

Workers' United Front vs. «Optimistic» Pledges!

President Hoover has given his reply to the needs of the unemployed workers in his speech, at the bankers' convention in Cleveland. With a characteristic genius for insight, he disclosed the fact that what was wrong with many people was . . . the reduction of their incomes. And how had their incomes been reduced. The answer of the Great Engineer is: "The income of a large part of our people is not reduced by the depression but it is affected by unnecessary fears and pessimism, the result of which is to slacken the consumption of goods and discourage enterprise."

It is the proper answer from the highest official representative of the capitalist class to the wokers whose wages are being cut and hours of work lengthened, to the unemployed who are starving and being evicted. The reason for the "slackening in the consumption of goods" is that the working class is "affected by unnecessary fears". The workers do not buy food and clothing, they do not—cannot!—pay their rent because . . . they are pessimistic.

Surely, it was worth while electing Hoover to the presidency in order to have this brilliant analysis of the present state of affairs, and get such soothing assurances for a working class driven desperate by the sharpening crisis.

Hoover and Wage Cuts

Hoover's speech to the workers was a campaign speech, made at a time when the Republicans, the "party of prosperity", is being hard pressed by its political opponents. Misery is spreading among the workers and farmers of the country like a prairie fire. The coming winter looks bleak in more than one sense. An intensive wage-cutting campaign is being conducted throughout the land, actively instigated by business men and bankers, passively accepted by the capitalistic labor leaders. At the very same bankers' convention, John W. Barton, president of the national bank division of the American Bankers Association, declared that "the standard of living in America is too high" and advocated carving another pound of flesh from the bodies of the working class.

But this is an important election year, so Hoover, with the arch-hypocrisy of an Uriah Heep, "emphatically disagreed". But what is Hoover doing to call a halt to the wage-cutting drive? Not a thing. And for cause, since he is the chairman of the capitalist class executive committee in Washington, the menial of the bankers and business men. All the "solemn pledges to maintain wage standards" have dissolved before the offensive of the bosses. No less loyal a footman of Amerian capitalism than William Green of the A.F. of L. must publicly "regret" the increasing wage cuts, which, according to his excessively moderate figures, affected 24,700 workers in August " and cuts averaged 10.5 percent—the highest yet".

The same question can be put to Green as to Hoover. The answer is that this lackey without livery is working in the labor movement with might and main to prevent or crush the spirit of resistance rising among the workers. The Greens serve the masters of the land as effectively as the Hoovers—each in their own allotted way.

Two Servitors of Capitalism

Green denounces the Communists, organizes pogroms against them in the trade unions, serves as informer against them to the courts of capitalism. Hoover speaks to the bankers in Cleveland on the "depression". while victims of this "depression" demonstrating in the streets for bread or work, are clubbed and bombed by Hoover's police. French royalty sarcastically told the people to eat cake if they could buy no bread. Hoover tells the people to be courageous and optimistic while they are on the rack of unemployment.

It is correct—but not as Hoover means it. The workers need to be bold and confident—bold enough to act decisively and confident that united action will bring them relief from the torments of the crisis. Why are the workers embittered but passive today? Why do they not enter in masses into open struggle against the masters of industry and finance? Because they fear defeats which disunity, and lack of organization and leadership bring in their train. The pressure of the crisis is driving tens and hundreds of thousands to the ideas and moods of struggle. What is imperatively required is a leadership that will give the movement a head and direct its energies profitably. Such a leadership properly belongs to the Communists, who alone represent the present and future of labor. But the Communists will establish themselves as leaders of the masses only if they can convince the masses of non-Communist workers that they are fighting for one militant line of struggle—FOR THE UNITED FRONT!

The United Labor Front

The slogan for the united front of labor to resist the offensive of the capitalists and ameliorate the lot of the jobless, combined with a minimum program of demands for which the workers can fight (and not merely cast a vote for in November)—that is the need of the moment. That is what will set masses of workers into motion under the guidance of class conscious and far-sighted leaders. But it is precisely here that the leadership of the Communist Party has failed so miserably. Their stubborn, gross mistakes, their piling of blunder upon blunder, their capers and lunges from frigid sectarianism to the open opportunism in the election campaign—in a word, the overbrimming cup of the "third period—threaten to lose an unprecedented opportunity for the Communist movement.

The Browders, Bedachts, Hathaways and all the lesser Harrison Georges are dealing blow after blow at the very vitals of the ovement under the impulsion of the international Stalinist machine which has tossed them to the surface for a brief moment. The Communist workers in the ranks—within and outside the Party—must ward off these blows. The quicker this is done and the whole camorra of Stalinist leaders put where they properly belong the quicker the Communist movement is restored, the quicker the working class will be mobilized to fight in united ranks.

—S—n.

Danville Workers Out on Strike

A few thousand textile workers have gone out on strike in Danville, Va., under the auspices of the United Textile Workers. Elizabtheton, Ware Shoals, Marion and other places where the "progressive" U.T.W. has led strikes are sufficient indication of where they intend to end up with the Danville strike. Because of that, the question must be asked:

What has happened to the National Textile Workers Union? Since the recent strike in Bessemer City, N.C., which the **Daily Worker** proudly heralded with an eight column streamer as being led by the N.T.W., only to turn around 24 hours later and admit its leadership by men who were opposed to that union, things have been strangely quiet. In fact, since the Bessemer City episode where the N.T.W. organizers were virtually run out of town, the Left wing union has not been conducting any activity whatsoever. This is in distinct contrast to the increasing influence of the United Textile Workers Union throughout the South, which has led to the present Danville situation.

In the South there is now practically no N.T.W.U. left. Only an isolated supporter can be found here and there. In the rest of the textile centers practically the same condition can be found. The only cities in which any semblance of an organization is functioning is in New Bedford, Mass. and Paterson, N.J.

In New Bedford where at one time thousands of textile workers rallied under the banner of the N.T.W.U. today not much more than 200 are to be found in the organization. In Paterson even a smaller group is functioning. Everywhere else where the N.T.W.U. was developing strength and in the past had some measure of success all semblance of a union has disappeared. This includes Fall River, Mass., Passaic, N.J. and Bethlehem and Allentown, Pa.

End the Stalinist stranglehold of the N.T.W.U.! Stop the exaggeration policy and deliberate lying, of which the Bessemer City strike is only one of many cases! Allow non-supporters of the Browder machine to participate in the union work! Conduct a real broad united organization campaign to enroll the workers in the N.T.W.U.!

—FRANK BROMLEY

Boris Selinitchenko

The editors of the "Bulletin of the Russian Opposition" inform us:

The Bolshevik-Leninist, comrade Selinitchenko had been confined in exile at Samarkand, where he was taken ill with tuberculosis of the larynx. His health grew worse every day. As his condition grew worse, instead of taking him to a more favorable climatic environment. the Stalinists took him to the city of Osch. Osch lies in the Kirgis Steppes, far from the railroad, without the slightest possibility of any kind of clinical treatment. After the arrival of comrade Selinitchenko, the Oppositionists exiled there applied in a series of telegrams to the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Party, and to the G.P.U., and requested the transference of comrade Selinitchenko to other climatic conditions and pointed out that an inevitable and swift ruin threatened him in Osch. No reply was received. So the Osch exiles decided to get comrade Selinitchenko to Tashkent on their own hook, in spite of the fact that the G.P U. could hold them responsible for "flight". Placed before an accomplished fact, the G.P.U. was compelled to transfer comrade Selinitchenko from Tashkent to the Crimea. Here, however a new series of sufferings began for the steadfast Bolshevik: free treatment was refused him, etc. The Stalinist G.P.U. has attained its aim: comrade Selinitchenko could not even last a few weeks in the Crimea, and went under.

UNDER THE LASH OF UNEMPLOYMENT

A Concrete Program for Organizing the Unemployed

On August 14th, the **Daily Worker** carried an article by Jack Johnstone. The article begins: "What are workers to do when they are hungry, are being evicted from their homes, are out of a job, and can't find anything to do? This question is one that is being asked by tens of thousands . . ."

And what is Johnstone's answer? In effect it is: "Come to the mass meeting in Union Square, September 1st, 12 o'clock sharp."

But suppose the workers say, "We have demonstrated already for almost a year, before March 6th, on March 6th, on May 1st, on July 6th, on August 1st, etc. Is this all you have to offer us? Is there no practical program? **What are we to do when we are hungry? When we are being evicted from our homes? When we are out of a job?"**

This is surely what the workers will say. They are saying it now: March 6th—75,000, May 1st—30,000, August 1st—10,000 etc. They have been saying it with their feet!

It is up to every honest and serious Communist to understand that the Party leaders are politically bankrupt. We must unite all forces to the end that a real unemployment program is worked out and carried out. **The question asked by the workers must be answered!**

Unemployment to Become More Serious

The unemployment question will become more acute than ever this coming fall and winter. The world economic situation will grow worse. The home situation will grow worse. The industrial crisis will sharpen and will add to it a deepened agrarian crisis. The unemployment question must become the principal question of the day. It can become the lever for the organization of the unorganized for the building of a Labor Party, for mobilizing the greatest mass of workers around the Communists. It is indeed that link in the chain of events which the Communists must seize to move the whole chain forward.

The Communist object in the unemployment movement must be 1. The mobilization of the widest layers of the population, above all, of course, and mainly, of the working class 2. The revolutionization and activization of these sectons and the development of leadership from their ranks. To win the widest strata. we must connect the unemployed with the employed, and throw the family as a whole into the struggle.

The line of the Party has been just the opposite in effect—to isolate the working class from the rest of the population, to isolate the advanced workers from their reserves, to isolate the unemployed from the employed, to isolate the vanguard from the unemployed, to place the workers in an impossible fighting position.

If the difficulties of work are extraordinary. due to the mobility of unemployed labor, to the systems of intermittent and part-time work, etc., these difficulties are more than counterbalanced by far by the wonderful opportunities for work.

How shall we begin the work of actually **organizing** the unemployed? **The first problem is the problem of reaching the unemployed masses** of which the primary basic principle is that **we must go to the masses and not expect them to come to us.** But how is this to be done? The proletarian quarters of the city must be carefully mapped out. In a larger city there will be several such quarters, very often built around some large factory or several of them. Each quarter contains a number of blocks. **The block organization must be the basic unit** Leaflets should be given out from flat to flat, from tenement to tenement, first with general propaganda on the unemployment question and then announcing a series of meetings. These meetings should be held where possible, outdoors, block by block of the whole district being systematically covered. Through these meetings and through the systematic distribution of leaflets. all the unemployed in a given block can be registered and the main bulk organized in a block council with its own leaders and executives, meeting regularly in the block, carrying out a uniform policy and preparing for action.

How the Party is Working

Let us stop here briefiy to contrast our position with what has been done by the Party officials.

1. The first difference is that instead of "showy" haphazard work there is systematic responsible work. For years, for example, Amter dabbled with unemployment work in Cleveland. With what results? When the Party reviewed its work after March 6th, it declared the situation in Cleveland disgraceful, that there was not even a council organized. Another example, was there any serious estimation of the organization problems set forth by the "organizer" Johnstone at the July 4th conference in Chicago?

2. The second difference is that we go to the masses, not await their coming to us. How were the so-called "unemployment councils" built up throughout the country by the Party? Let us take a typical case—Newark, New Jersey. There the Party is relatively small and weak. It has little money and poor guidance. (In a few months it had 4 different paid section organizers between spells of having none at all.) A few dollars are raised and spent on leaflets. A meeting is announced in their own hall First a hundred or so workers come, then two hundred, then four hundred and the hall is packed to the doors.

But already the workers begin to feel disappointed. At every meeting the same wordy phrases are passed out. The workers begin to ask "What are we to do when we are hungry, are being evicted from our homes, are out of a job?" "Come to the next meeting!" is the answer. No practical plans are set at the meeting. Party members alone control. No one is elected on an executive. No discussion of local problems. No non-Party leaders developed. The original enthusiasm begins to cool a bit. Then comes a police raid. The few leading Party members are arrested. The attendance rapidly falls off. Detectives stand in the hall, forming a cordon through which workers. one by one, must pass. Police agents in the hall openly cast their shadow of terror over the meeting.

Is it any wonder that after March 6th everything melted away? Could anything be more amateurish? The workers say the Communists mean well but they are a bunch of empty-headed impractical persons who like to talk.

Let us take the Party figures on unemployment that one person is out of work for every 15 people. Newark is a city, roughly of 450,000 population. This would mean at least 30,000 out of work. The Party then asked these 30,000 to come to a hall holding normally 300 people. There is no hall in Newark that could hold 30,000 people nor can the Party afford to hire any larger one than what they had. But to the workers the situation was very clear. In reality what the Party was doing was exposing its vanguard troops to the withering fire of the enemy in the most foolish manner. The workers knew that and either never came around or withdrew. Only the foolish Communist Party "leaders" did not know this. In reality the Party was **keeping out** thousands of workers eager to join the movement, and was condemning those who came, to isolation. In reality the Party was stifling the movement!

The Basis for Unemployment Work

3. The third difference is that with us, the basis for unemployment work is the proletarian quarter of the city, not the factory gate, not the meeting "downtown", or speeches at "bread lines".

—ALBERT WEISBORD

(To He Continued)

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Wrong and Right Tactics in the Unemployment Movement

The unemployment situation in this period of depression following the period of overproduction and crisis of American capitalism brings forth a problem of greater magnitude than the unemployment accompanying the classical crisis of capitalism in its growth stage. A permanent army of unemployed due to the machine development and rationalization, aggravated by the crisis, swelling the numbers of the unemployed to over seven millions. Unemployment is the most pressing immediate problem of the American workers and every class conscious organization, reform group and the capitalist vanguard is vitally concerned wth its solution; the working class with one aim and the capitalist class with the opposite aim.

The aim of the workers vanguard is to utilize this issue to strengthen the position of the working class and consolidate the ideological change taking place in the ranks of the workers. The aim of the capitalist class is to stem the tide, throw out enough crumbs to prevent this ideological crystallization and maintain their tottering equilibrum a little longer.

Not only can the two main contending classes use this issue to strengthen their position but the reformist and revolutionary wings of the working class movement are now in battle for a position in the American working class which will be an important victory in the immediate future and a big factor in determining the strength and duration of reformism in America. Therefore, tactics not only against the capitalist but especially against the reformist wing are vital problems in the unemployment activity of the revolutionary movement.

The Program of the Official Party

All the class conscious organizations are reaping some benefit from the favorable objective situation in spite of the fact that none of them has a concrete program for unemployment. The Communist Party, as the main organized force of these organizations, has done the most in this field and has a concrete program. But what kind of a concrete program, is another question.

Parties that only present an abstract program for the unemployed cannot be criticized in the same light the Communist Party must be. The Party at least attempts to solve the problem. It is its "Third Period" antics and non-Marxian analysis that causes all the trouble.

When the crisis began the Party issued the slogan of "Work or Wages". After the 7th Convention, when the crisis has deepened and is going deeper it shifted the emphasis to the Social Insurance Bill. The political analysis of the Party informs us, through the 7th Convention thesis, that we are in a period of revolutionary upsurge in America and yet this seventh convention gave birth to the Social Insurance BILL as the main activity in a period of "revolutonary upsurge".

The struggle for social insurance and the unemployment councils are elementary activities to mobilize all workers possible in order to use this mass against capitalism today and to win the most advanced section of this mass to our Party. The "revolutionary unions" of the T.U.U.L., on the other hand, represent the most advanced section. To tie the unemployed councils organizationally to the tail of the T.U.U.L., is to cut off our advance. The Party must be the driving force and the T.U.U.L. must be the most active factor for organizing these unemployed but to apply the separate front in place of the united front, and mechanical control in place of control through Marxian policy, is fundamentally wrong.

The "Social Insurance Bill'

A struggle for social insurance is correct, but to direct our main energy in this field in the manner of the Party, means creating parliamentary illusions. Communist participation in elections does not guarantee revolutionary poltical action instead of parliamentary action. A struggle for social insurance does not mean the main weight should be placed on a BILL, on the contrary the main emphasis should be placed on the industrial end with proper political coordination. This would easily enable us to draw a clear line of demarcation between our struggle for social insurance and that of the reformist and capitalist but at present the only distinction the Party speakers can find to prove that our bill is "revolutionary" is that we advocate $25.00 and they advocate $5.00. To compare our bill with "Roosevelt's Bill" in order to denote the revolutionary content of our social insurance struggle is another step in the swamp.

A struggle against unemployment must have the main emphasis on the field of struggle rather than in Congress and this activity (trade union. unemployment councils, shop committees ,mass literature distribution of elementary educational value) should be coordinated with the parliamentary (elections, etc.) in order to strengthen our entire activity instead of arming the "industrial actionist" on the one hand and the reformist on the other by stressing a Congressional BILL.

The United Front

This struggle against unemployment of millions of workers who are just becoming class conscious, with only a small section of this ideology crystallized, cannot be even started unless the Leninist UNITED FRONT is applied. The Party started at the beginning of the crisis with pure separate fronts and after the convention only gave lip service to the united front in a couple of half-hearted articles in the **Daily Worker** and **Labor Unity.** A united front with all the organizations of the workers, will enable us to gain and to expose the reformist. The reformist and trade union fakers have made this a big issue and our tactics are strengthening them. We need tactics that will strip these fakers before the eyes of the workers proving that their fight for unemployment is in name only.

The struggle for shorter hours is more important in content than a struggle for a social insurance bill. The main emphasis must fall on shorter hours. Such a struggle. like the 1830 struggle for the ten hour day and the 1886 struggle for the eight hour day are political struggles of basic working class content which is the distinction between revolutionary political action and "pure" parliamentary action. Not the slogan for the seven hour day but the slogan for the 6 hour day and five day week is what is needed.

Abstract propaganda for the Soviet Union means nothing to the average American worker who is sepaarting himselffrom the capitalist and reformist. The sympathizer of the movement will be patient with any amount you give him, but we cannot base our propaganda on the circle we have already won. The slogan demanding credits to the Soviet Union is a concrete method of gaining the support of the workers. In the basic industries, those which produce the means of production which the Soviet Union needs and is buying, is where we can come to the American worker with a "Soviet issue" that means more than abstract support through convictions of a few based on scientific understanding. The approach should be through the bread and butter angle. It will tear down the walls of prejudice to enable us to present a scientific understanding to unbiased minds. And one may mention that credits to the Soviet Union is a burning issue with the plan of socialist construction.

The depression is growing deeper and this winter the conditions of the workers will be worse. Defensive struggle will reach a higher plane. There is still time for the Party and the revolutionary forces really to work out a concrete program of action for the unemployment situation and for the Party to shift from its reformist tendencies of main emphasis on a BILL to revolutionary political action.

—HUGO OEHLER

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The Hillman-Beckerman Union

How Do the Cutters Stand?

By ALBERT ORLAND

In the Militant, Number 29, in his article on the last convention of the A.C.W. in Toronto, comrade Schneider wrote about the fight between the Beckerman and the Hillman cliques and the compromise reached by them at that convention to divide the spoils in the New York organization and continue to keep the members in submission. To have a better understanding of the situation in the New York organization and the importance of the Toronto convention it is necessary to have some knowledge of the character and functions of the Cutters Union, Local "Big Four", A.C.W.A.For in the fights between the cliques in the New York Amalgamated oganization in the last few years this local has played an important part and on the developments in the Cutters' Local depends much of the future of the Amalgamated in New York.

Local 4 has always been considered the strongest post of the A.C.W. in New York. Due to the specific conditions under which the cutters work, they have been a sort of aristocratic caste in the ranks of the clothing workers, particularly in New York, unlike the clothing workers here.

Working directly for the manufacturers in separate cutting rooms, isolated from the tailors who make up the garments in the shops of the contractors the cutters have occupied a position more advantageous than that of the rest of the workers in the industry. The cutters have consequently been easily influenced by the craft ideology of the leadership of the old United Garment Workers as well as of the present A.C.W. leadership The cutters union has maintained its local autonomy under the A.C.W. Its affiliation with the New York Joint Board has been almost on the lines of a fraternal organization and its co-operation of a voluntary character.

The peculiar position of the Cutters Local has been responsible to a large degree for the demoralization and the sufferings of the thousands of clothing workers in New York. Holding the key position to the New York organization, Local 4 has been the decisive factor in the struggles between the union and the bosses and also a strategic post for all political machinations of the cliques and factions in the union. In the years when the A.C.W. was a militant union, the cutters local was the vanguard of the clothing workers and contributed the greater share to the improvement of their conditions in the shops and the building of the union.

Today the Cutters Union, while it has maintained many of the gains of the previous period so far as conditions go, is looked upon as the bulwark of reaction in the A.C.W. This reputation of Local 4 is due to the role it has played in recent years in Hillman's campaign of "efficiency-unionizing" the New York Clothing market.

Local 4 has been the chief instrument in Hillman's hands for breaking the resistance of the tailors against standards of production, the introduction of piecework and finally the crushing of the Left wing.

Each victory over the tailors in New York was achieved by the help of the Cutters' corrupt officials who in addition to the strategic position they have occupied in the organization have also, through their connections with the strong arm guard, been best qualified for that job.

Who does not remember the infamous Beckerman campaign of forcing piece-work on the tailors and his blackjacking of the Left wing? And Beckerman as the evil link between the cutters union and the New York organization has contributed most to wrecking the morale and the solidarity and making the job of betrayal of the tailors so much easier for themselves. In the above mentioned campaign of Hillman and Beckerman against the tailors, the cutters stood aloof, thereby sanctioning all the disgraceful acts of their officials.

But in all the bargains between Hillman and his agents, the Cutters union officials, the membership of the local has been the loser. The privileges of the cutters have been gradually lost, their conditions worsened, and due to the general disruption of the A.C.W. organization in New York, they are today as helpless as the rest of the workers in the industry. The speed-up in the shops, the temporary job system which serves as a means of supplying cheap and efficient labor to the bosses and keeping the workers divided, have demoralized the membership and thrown hundreds of them into the streets.

The intolerable regime in the local, the irresponsibility of the officials, the trampling upon the elementary rights of the membership, the espionage system and the economic terror have destroyed the activity and broken the resistance of the rank and file of the membership. These are the results of the machinations of the A.C.W. officialdom in the strongest local in New York.

The Cutters local has faithfully performed its service as an instrument in Hillman's hands to force "efficiency-unionism" on the tailors. It now comes next in order to be whipped into line with the rest of the clothing workers. The cutters will not escape the fate prescribed for them by Hillman and the clothing bosses.

What did the Toronto convention accomplish for Hillman and what will be its results for the cutters? This convention completed a chapter in the history of Hillman's "efficiency-unionizing" of the New York market. In this chapter, the cutters local had written not a few important pages and its future can already be forecast.

The cutters local is already being placed under Hillman's control. The local officials are gradually submitting to his directions. While the Beckerman forces have been split, the administration of local 4 is forced to divide power with the Hillman forces in the local. These combined forces have already shown their strength in the local by a recent victory over the membership in doubling the amount of membership dues in the local. In what grip the membership will soon find itself is not difficult to imagine.

These are the net results of the Toronto Convention for the Hillman leadership. The New York market is nearing the final stage of being completely "efficiency-unionized" for the benefit of Hillman's "higher union strategy". As to the clothing workers—their history is still to be written.

Where is the Left Wing in the Local?

To fix the blame for not having a strong Left wing group in the cutters union entirely on the politicians of the "third period", as comrade Schneider does in the case of the other locals would not be entirely correct, neither would it be just. In the specific conditions of the cutters union the absence of an outspoken Left wing group in the present period of general reaction is hardly surprising. Unlike the other branches of the A.C.W., the cutters local still enjoys some union conditions, like the week-work system and the minimum wage, and their disposition is in general less revolutionary than that of of the tailors But their discontent has been continually growing under the intolerable regime of the local, and with a correct policy the Left wing could establish a good base there.

But the zig-zag tactics of the T.U.U.L. and previously the T.U.E.L. that have followed like a weathercock the official winds of the Communist International have had their disastrous results here as everywhere else. The swift alterations between the united fronts at all costs and the holier-than-thou attitudes of the "third period" apostles have so confused the rank and file that no organized Left wing movement is to be found in the A.C.W.A. The existence of a Left wing there is not at all desired by the official Communist Party, and any attempt to organize a Left wing in the A.C.W.A. is met with fierce opposition by the Stalinists.

According to the "third period" policy activization of the membership of the old unions is branded as reformism. Participation in these is considered a sort of "necessary evil" and permitted only with the object of exposing the reactionary officialdom and recruiting members for the revolutionary union under the leadership of the T.U.U.L. This policy is of course based on the theory that the workers in the reactionary unions have already been radicalized and are ready on short notice of the T.U.U.L. agents to leave the old unions and join the revolutionary ones. All that is necessary is just to stage a few exposures of social-fascists there at their meetings. No pressure, however, should be used on the officials to show in concrete cases of struggle just where they stand on questions affecting the interests of the workers for fear that this may create illusions among the workers that the old unions can be reformed. Here is how this policy is expressed in the **Daily Worker,** August 19th editorial:

"It is not our duty to desert the A.F. of L. and leave the members of these union under the leadership of the bosses' agents to be utilize against the interests of the workers. On the contrary revolutionary workers must carry on their activities within the A.F. of L., not with the Lovestonian conception of forcing the leaders to fight, but with the revolutionary conception of winning the leadership of these workers for the building of revolutionary trade unions which alone can successfully fight for the economic demands of the workers."

This policy is a complete refutation of the Leninist conception of working within the old unions. To believe that the workers will get radicalized under the influence of a few speeches exposing the reactionary leadership and not by organized pressure on this leadership to **show their color in action** condemns the work in the unions to futility. The result of such a policy can only be the isolation of the revolutionary element from the bulk of the membership still under the influence of the reactionary leadership and the strengthening of the later's position in the unions. The reactionary officials, relieved of the pressure of an organized opposition, have a free hand to carry on their work of betrayal and can only be thankful for such a policy.

In reciprocation for this policy, which is a real service rendered them by the Left wing, they are obligingly taking careful pains to relieve the "third period" Left wingers of the effects of the "necessary evil"—of the participation at union meetings entirely, by either expelling them or gradually doing away with union meetings, thereby also saving the reactionary unions and themselves from exposure. That this always means strengthening the revolutionary unions is hard to say but it should mean that to "right-thinking" Communists anyway. However, the immediate effect of the new policy is this amazing reciprocity between the reactionaries and the "third period" revolutionists which, though not pre-arranged or even intended, is nevertheless logical and unavoidable under the application of the new policy.

It remains entirely for the Left Communist Opposition to undertake the rebuilding of the Left wing movement in the A.C.W.A. as well as in the other unions where the Left wing has been wrecked. The rank and file of the membership will respond to a call to action by a responsible and constructive Left wing organization.

(Coming articles by comrade Orland will deal with the concrete conditions of the cutters at present, and with other sections of the men's garment industry, and the problems of the Left wing.—Ed.-)

Wipe Hooliganism Out of the Movement!

Those who imagine that the Stalinists have given up their tactics of violent physical attacks upon ideological opponents within the working class, like the disruption of public meetings, are laboring under a misapprehension. The only change in the tactics has been that the **Daily Worker** is more careful than it was about boasting of the bureaucratic gangsterism. In reality, however, it continues in just as dastardly a manner as when it was first begun by the Lovestone faction against the meetings of the Left Opposition. The most recent case in point is the disruption of the New York I.W.W. street meeting at University Place and 14th Street, a couple of Wednesdays ago.

The I.W.W. has been holding its meeting on that corner for sometime, every Wednesday night. Recently, some Party members have been instructed to cultivate the habit of attending these meetings not for the purpose of discussing respective points of view, but of deliberately provoking battles. Two weeks ago, this contemptible procedure reached its peak. Surrounding the meeting at which a handful of I.W.W. was present, some 150 to 200 Party members worked up to a pitch of incitement that ended with a physical assault upon the I.W.W. members who were greatly outnumbered. As usual, the Stalinists were equipped with blackjacks and similar persuasive instruments. In spite of the odds, the I.W.W. courageously and successfully routed the hoodlums even before the police came on the scene. Needless to say that the meeting was then dispersed.

Some time later, at 10th Street and 2nd Avenue, where a Party meeting was in process, Herbert Mahler, a local I.W.W. member, started to ask Engdahl, the Party speaker who had just mentioned the Party fight for free speech, why the Party sought to prevent the Wobblies from speaking freely. A gang of Party members immediately set upon Mahler and his companions. Bulls and cops came on the scene in a moment, and one of the former was kicked while beating a prostate I.W.W. with his fist. Mahler, Kolescar and a few other I.W.W. were then arested! In the patrol wagon, Mahler was unmercifully slugged by the dicks so that he bled profusely. Kolescar, a slight worker, had two of his teeth knocked out. Both he and Mahle are being held for trial now on charges of "felonious assault".

So much for the upshot of this sample of Stalinist gangsterism!

Significantly enough, the Stalinists who organized and led the rioting were almost exclusively young comrades in the movement, with perhaps a year or six months of membership. They have apparently been taught by the Party leadership that Bolshevism is synonymous with . . . violence. They do not seem to know that during the history of the struggle between Bolsheviks, S.R.s and Narodniki in czarist Russia, a struggle that reached the bitterest points at times, there was never a single. solitary instance of one of the groups in the revolutionary movement organizing a gang for the deliberate purpose of disrupting the meeting of another group. Heckling, questioning and similar means of discussion were frequent occurences, but never the fanatical hoodlumery that is the crowning contribution of Stalinism to the revolutionary movement.

As comrade Trotsky has so poignantly expressed it, the Stalinists try to make up for their impotence in the face of the bourgeois state by physical domineering over and attacks upon non-Stalinist groups in the movement; they substitute for an appeal to the workers brains', a club on the workers' heads. These methods disgrace the movement as a whole. We branded them vitriolically when Lewis Sigman, Hillman and Co. introduced them in the trade unions. We have no less condemnation for them when they are introduced in the name of a Stalinist neo-Communism.

The workers everywhere will be aiding the cause if labor by shouting their hostility to these reactionary methods against adversaries in the movement. The worker in the official Party, in whom the revolutionary spirit has not been extinguished by the senseless marionettes who occupy the high posts, will do an incalculable service to the Communist movement too by standing up and raising his voice in protest against these degrading tactics. He will find a ready echo from the hearts, if not the lips, of hundreds of others.

ALL INVITED
to the
-:- FORMAL OPENING -:-
of two regular study classes:
«History of the American Labor Movement»
by JAMES P. CANNON
«Marxian Economics»
by ALBERT WEISBORD
at Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St. and 2nd Ave.
on Tuesday, October 7, 1930, 8 .p m.

* * *

At the formal opening of the two classes, to which all friends are invited, comrades Cannon and Weisbord will outline and introduce their courses. Workers, wishing to join either or both of the classes can do so at this meeting.

Auspices: New York Branch
Communist League of America (Opposition)

STALIN AS A THEORETICIAN

L. D. TROTSKY

(Continued from Last Issue)

The above-mentioned unfavorable balance of the October revolution for the village is, of course, temporary and transitory. The principal significance of the October revolution for the peasant lies in the fact that it created the pre-conditions for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. But this—is a matter of the future. In 1927, collectivization was still completely tabooed. So far as "complete" collectivization is concerned, nobody even thought of it. Stalin however, includes it in his considerations after the fact. "Now, after the intensified development of the collectivization movement"—our theoretician transplants into the past what lies ahead in the future—"the peasants are able . . . to produce a lot more than before with the same expenditure of labor". And after this, once more: "How can one say, after all this (!) that the October revolution did not bring any gain to the peasant? Is it not clear that people saying such nonsense are obviously telling lies about the Party and the Soviet power?" The reference to "nonsense" and "lies" is quite in place here, as may be seen. Yes, some people "are obviously telling lies" about chronology and common sense.

Stalin as we see, makes his "nonsense" more profound by depicting matters as if the Opposition not only exaggerated the February revolution at the expense of the October, but even for the future refused the latter the capacity for improving the conditions of the peasant. For what fools, may we ask, is this intended? We beg the pardon of the honorable professor Pokrovsky! . . . .

The Aim of the Opposition

Incessantly advancing, since 1923, the problem of the economic scissors of the city and village, the Opposition pursued a quite definite aim, now incontestable by anyone: To compel the bureaucracy to understand that the struggle against the danger of disunity can be conducted now with sugary slogans like "Face to the village", etc., but through: a) faster tempo of industrial development; and b) energetic collectivization of peasant economy. In other words, the problem of the scissors as well as the problem of the peasants' balance of the October revolution was advanced by us not in order to "discredit" the October revolution—what is the very "terminology" worth!—but in order to compel the self-contented and conservative bureaucracy by the whip of the Opposition to utilize those immeasurable economic possibilities which the October revolution opened up to the country.

To the official kulak-bureaucratic course of 1923-1928, which had its expression in the every day legislative and adminstrative work, in the new theory, and above all, in the persecution of the Opposition, the latter opposed, from 1923 on, a course towards an accelerated industrialization, and from 1927 on, after the first successes of industry, the mechanization and collectivization of agriculture.

Let us once more recall that the Opposition platform which Stalin conceals, but from which he fetches in bits all of his wisdom, declares: "The growth of private proprietorship in the village must be offset by a more rapid development of collective farming. It is necessary systematically and from year to year to subsidize the efforts of the poor peasants to organize in collectives." (Page 68, English edition). "A much larger sum ought to be appropriated for the creation of Soviet and collective farms. Maximum indulgences must be accorded to the newly organized collective farms and other forms of collectivization. People deprived of elective rights cannot be members of the collective estates. The whole work of the cooperatives ought to be penetrated with a sense of the problem of transforming small-scale production into large-scale collective production. The work of the land distribution must be carried on wholly at the expense of the state, and the first thing to be taken care of must be the collective farms and the farms of the poor, with a maximum protection of their interests." (Page 71.)

If the bureaucracy had not vacillated under the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie, but had executed the program of the Opposition since 1923, not only the proletarian but also the peasant balance of the revolution would be of an infinitely more favorable nature.

The Problem of the «Scissors»

The problem of the "smytchka" (alliance) is the problem of the mutual relations between city and village. It is composed of two parts, or, more correctly, can be regarded from two angles: a) the mutual relationship between industry and agriculture; b) the mutual relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry. On the basis of the market, these relations, assuming the form of commodity exchange, find their expression in the price movement. The harmony between the prices of bread, cotton, beets and so forth on the one hand and calico, kerosene, plows and so forth on the other hand, is the decisive index for evaluating the mutual relations between the city and the village, of industry and agriculture, between workers and peasants. The problem of the "scissors" of industrial and agricultural prices therefore remains, for the present period as well, the most important economic and social problem of the whole Soviet system. Now how did the price scissors change between the last two congresses, that is, in the last two and a half years? Did they close, or, on the contrary, did they widen?

We look in vain for a reply to this central question in the ten hour report of Stalin to the Congress. Presenting piles of departmental figures, making a bureaucratic reference book out of the principal report, Stalin did not even attempt a Marxist generalization of the isolated and, by him, thoroughly undigested data given to him by the commissariats, secretariats and other offices.

Are the scissors of industrial and agricultural prices closing? In other words, is the balance of the socialist revolution, as yet passive for the peasant, being reduced? In the market conditions—and we have not yet liberated ourselves from them, and will not for a long time to come—the closing or widening of the scissors is of decisive significance for an evaluation of the successes accomplished and for checking up on the correctness or incorrectness of economic plans and methods. That there is not a word about it in Stalin's report is of itself an extremely alarming fact. Were the scissors closing, there would be plenty of specialists in Mikoyan's department who would, without difficulty, give this process statistical and graphic expression. Stalin would only have to demonstrate the diagram, that is, show the Congress a scissors which would prove that the blades are closing. The whole economic section of the report would find its axis, but unfortunately this axis is not there. Stalin avoided the problem of the scissors.

The domestic scissors is not the final index. There is another, a "higher" one: the scissors of domestic and international prices. They measure the productivity of labor in Soviet economy with the productivity of labor in the world capitalist market. We received from the past, in this sphere as well as in others, an enormous heritage of backwardness. In practise, the task for the next few years is not immediately to "catch up with and outstrip"—we are unfortunately still very far from this! —but planfully to close the scissors between domestic and world prices, which can be accomplished only through systematically approximating the labor productivity in the U.S.S.R. to the labor productivity in the advanced capitalist countries. This in turn requires not statistically-minimum but economically-favorable plans. The oftener the bureaucrats repeat the bold formula "to catch up with and outstrip", the more stubbornly they ignore exact comparative coefficients of socialist and capitalist industry or, in other words, the problem of the scissors of domestic and world prices. And on this question also not a word is to be found in Stalin's report. The problem of the domestic scissors could have been considered liquidated only under the conditions of the actual liquidation of the market. The problem of the foreign scissors—with the liquidation of world capitalism. Stalin, as we know, was preparing, at the time of his agricultural report to send the N.E.P. "to the devil". But he changed his mind within the six months that elapsed. As is always the case with him, his unaccomplished intention to liquidate the N.E.P. is attributed by him in his report to the Congress to the "Trotskyists". The white and yellow threads of this operation are so indiscreetly exposed that the report of this part of the speech does not dare to record the slightest applause.

What happened to Stalin with regard to the market and the N.E.P. is what usually happens to empiricists. The sharp turn that took place in his own mind under the influence of external pressure, he took for a radical change in the whole situation. Once the bureaucracy decided to enter into a final conflict with the market and the Kulak instead of its passive adaptation to them, then statistics and economy could consider them non-existent. Empiricism is most frequently the pre-condition for subjectivism, and if it is bureaucratic empiricism, it inevitably becomes the pre-condition for periodic "turns". The art of the "general" leadership consists in this case of converting the turns into smaller turns and distributing them equally among the helots called executors. If, at the end, the general turn is attributed to "Trotskyism", then the problem is settled But this is not the point. The essence of the N.E.P., regardless of the sharp change in the "essence" of Stalin's thoughts about it lies as before in the determination by the market of the economic inter-relations between the city and village. If the N.E.P. remains then the scissors of agricultural and industrial prices remain the most important criterion of the whole economic policy.

A «Bourgeois Prejudice»

However, half a year before the Congress, we heard Stalin call the theory of the scissors a "bourgeois prejudice". This is the simplest way out of the situation. If you tell a village quack that the temperature curve is one of the most important indices to the health or illness of an organism, he will hardly believe you. But if he grasps some sage words and, to make matters worse, learns to present his quackery as "proletarian medicine", he will most certainly say that a thermometer is a bourgeois prejudice. If this quack has power in his hands he will, to avoid a scandal, smash the thermometer over a stone or, what is still worse, over somebody's head. In 1925, the differentiation within the Soviet peasantry was declared to be a prejudice of panic-mongers. Yakovlev was sent to the central statistical department, from which he took away all the Marxist thermometers to be destroyed. But unfortunately, the changes in temperature do not cease when there are no thermometers. But for that, the appearance of hidden organic processes takes the healers and those being healed unawares. This is what happened in the grain strike of the Kulak, who unexpectedly appeared as the leading figure in the village and compelled Stalin, on February 15, 1928 (see **Pravda** of that date) to make a turn of 180 degrees. The price thermometer is of no less significance than the thermometer of differentiation within the peasantry. After the Twelfth Party Congress, where the term "scissors" was first used and explained, everybody began to understand its significance. In the three years that followed, the scissors were invariably demonstrated at the Plenums of the Central Committee, at Conferences and Congresses, as precisely the basic curve of the economic temperature of the country. But afterwards, they gradually began to disappear from usage, and finally, at the end of 1929, Stalin declared them to be . . . "a bourgeois prejudice". Because the thermometer was smashed in time, Stalin had no reason to present the Sixteenth Congress of the Party with the curve of economic temperature. Marxist theory is the weapon of thought serving to clarify what has been, what is becoming, and what lies ahead, and for the determination of what is to de done. Stalin's theory is the servant of bureaucracy. It serves to justify zig-zags after the event, to conceal yesterday's mistakes and consequently to prepare tomorrow's. The silence over the scissors occupies the central place in Stalin's report. This may appear paradoxical, because silence is an empty place. But it is nevertheless a fact: in the center of Stalin's report is a hole, consciously and premeditatedly bored.

Awaken, so that no harm shall come to the dictatorship out of this hole!

(To Be Continued)

Four New Organs of the Left Opposition

We are proud to announce the publication of four new organs by the International Left Opposition, solid proofs of the forward march of our movement in the face of all obstacles put in its path by Stalinism, and a refutation of all the fantastic tales concerning our "disintegration".

The first is the **"International Bulletin of the Left Communist Opposition"** printed in Paris by the Provisional International Secretariat of the Opposition. The first number, just received here, is printed in French and German, and contains the following material: An Appeal to the Proletarians of the World. Editorial Notice. List of Organizations Adhering to the International Conference of the Opposition. The Left Opposition and the Party in Germany. The Crisis in the Belgian Opposition. (Resolutions of the Charleroi Federation and the Executive Bureau). The Development of the Opposition in France. The Conditions of the Oppositionists Deported in the U.S.S.R. What is the Situation in the Austrian Opposition movement? Future issues will contain articles in English translation also. The price per copy is 5 cents, to be purchased through the Militant.

The second is **"Claridad"**, published by the Mexican Opposition. The first number contains the following articles in the Spanish language: An Address to the Mexican Communists. The Expulsion of Andres Nin from the U.S.S.R. The Recent "Revolutions" in South America. A. Marti Arrested in Nicaragua. The Opportunists of Transport Workers Confederation and the Government. The Crisis in the U.S. Communist Party. The Situation in Cuba. The Expulsion of comrade Golod from the Spanish-speaking section of the U.S. Party. And many more other important items. Copies of **"Claridad"** can be purchased in the United States at 5 cents each by writing A.Gonzalez, 25 Third Avenue, Room 4, New York, N.Y.

The third is **"Spartacus"**, monthly organ of the Opposition in the Communist Party of Greece. The first number contains among other articles, the following: A Criticism of the Report of the Comintern, by S. Maximos. Proportional Elections or Extra-Parliamentary Struggle? Economic Adventurism, by L.Trotsky. The First of August and the New "Turn" by Mon. The Pan-Hellenic Congress of the C.G.T. of Greece and the Duty of the Revolutionary Workers, by Tassos Dimitriou. The Struggle against the Right Wing at the 16th Congress, by N. Senine. In the Light of Marxism, etc., etc. Greek comrades in the United States can get copies by writing to Jean Monastiriotis, Poste Restante, Athens, Greece. The Militant hopes to have them on sale at its office soon.

The fourth is **"Jiskra"** (Spark), organ of the Left Opposition in Czecho-Slovakia. It is published monthly in the Czech and German languages and marks a big step ahead for our Czech comrades. The first issue contains a declaration of their point of view and a definite demarcation from the Right wing liquidators around Hais-Muna-Neurath-Kowanda and the Centrists of the official Party. The enormous task of our comrades is Czecho-Slovakia in winning over the bulk of the Communist workers discouraged by Centrism or misled by Right wing will be greatly facilitated now with the issuance of their own paper. Czech workers in the U.S. can obtain connections with the paper by writing its editor, Ferdinand Jerabek, Ziskov, Domazlicka, 8|III, Praha. Czecho-Solvakia.

MIMEOGRAPH WANTED

A mimeographing machine in workable condition is needed by the office of the Militant. The machine must be of the automatic "pick-up" type, and be offered at a really reasonable price. Those wishing to sell can see the secretary at 25 Third Avenue, Room 4, at any hour during the day, or can write full particulars to the same address.

The Election Results

By Our Berlin Correspondent

The result of the German elections proves that electoral participation was **extremely increased.** It considerably surpassed 80 percent. By the growth of the electorate and the participation of the young element (2,500,000), the number of votes rose from 30,000,000 to 35,000,000, and the total number of mandates from 493 to 576, increasing the number of deputies by 83. More than half of these six million new electors are proletarians. These facts must be emphasized in order to analyze the election results.

The Middle Bourgeois Parties Beaten

In spite of desperate efforts, the parties of the middle bourgeoisie forming the Bruening government were unable to halt their disintegration. Only the Center, the party assembling under the banner of the Catholic Church the big industrialists of the Rhine and the workers of the Rhineland and Upper-Silesia, succeeded in maintaining its positions (68 mandates instead of 62), that is, to increase, due to the increased participation, the number of its votes by about 5 percent while the increase in the electorate was about 20 percent.

The other government parties (State party, Right wing Democrats, People's party) suffered very heavy defeats, in part even crushing. The dictatorial regime which had hoped to convert its parliamentary minority into a majority, obtained hardly a third of the mandates out of the total.

In spite of the growth in the number of electors, the socialist party fell from 9,150,533 votes (1928) to 8,572,000 (143 mandates as against 153). In certain regions however, it held on, for instance in Saxony, where it succeeded in rising from 871-327 votes obtained in the Landtag elections (June 1929) to 992,547. As a whole, the defeat of the social democracy is undeniable, but it would be wrong to speak of a "crushing defeat" (see **Rote Fahne**, September 15, 1930); one must rather speak of a process of crumbling.

The press of the German C.P. announces that "the Communists are the victors of the electoral battle". The Party has succeeded in rising from 3,262,876 votes (1928) to 4,587,000, a gain of about 40 percent. Considering the increase in the electorate, the Party succeeded in gaining about 500,000 to 600,000 new votes. That is certainly an important fact, which does not indicate the correctness of the Party policy but the enormous, the intense effervescence of the masses in the crisis.

Fascism, the Real Victor

The National Socialist party (Fascists) bounded from 809,939 votes (1928) to 6,400,000 and their mandates from 12 to 107! As we had foreseen, it became the strongest bourgeois party and at the same time the strongest party in general after the social democracts. What interests us above all is to know at the expense of **what class** this victory was achieved.

At the very outset it is apparent that the fascists have taken the heritage of the petty bourgeois parties. They took 2 million votes from the nationalists, 1 million from the People's party, and about a half million, without doubt, from the other bourgeois parties. As for the increased participation, it also went in large part to Fascism. At first sight it might seem that the enormous victory of Fascism is due to the simple fact that it drew the bourgeois masses to it. But a deeper examination of the electoral results shows that Fascism succeeded **in making a deep breach in the proletariat.** That is what the figures from the industrial regions show, in which the Fascists almost increased their 1928 vote ten-fold. Thus, East Dusseldorf, 210,106 (1928: 19,926); West Dusseldorf, 168,635 (1928: 10,104). Chemnitz-Zickau, 264,871 (1928:41,497); **Hamburg,** 144,584 (1928: 17, 761).

In the industrial regions of the Rhineland, the Fascists went from 600 to 8,400 in Hamborn, and from 1,222 to 26,079 in Wuppertal-Barmen.

In Berlin, the figures are still more alarming. In this city, there were municipal elections in November 1929, that is, in the period of the crisis. Here the Fascists rose from 132. 031 to 393,266, and that in ten months. In the proletarian bastions, the Fascists increased, in Wedding (a particularly striking instance), from 8720 (November 1929) to 20,655; in Neukoelln, from 7,124 (1929) to 22,128, in Friedrichshain, from 2,324 (1929) to 24,900, in Pankow from 355 (1929) to 11,773.

And Now?

Nothing would now be more dangerous than dizziness of the Party before its own success, nothing would be more dangerous than the way the bureaucrats treat the Fascist victory as a mere bagatelle **("Last night Herr Hitler had his 'greatest day', but the socalled election victory is the beginning of their end . . . " Rote Fahne,** September 15).

The Party has advanced. It has advanced in virtually all the proletarian regions. But the fact that the Fascists did so also in a whole series of industrial sections (West Dusseldorf) or even **strongly** surpassed it (Chemnitz-Zwickau, Hamburg, Dresden-Bautzen, Northern Westphalia) is alarming. The **Rote Fahne** writes: **"The rise of our growing influence among the workers and all the exploited, the rise in which we won the toiling masses in the cities and the country for our program of revolutionary emancipation, showed itself to be even more impetuous than we thought before September 14";** that is one of the most dangerous ways of deceiving oneself.

We are on the eve of decisive struggles in Germany. The rise of the counter-revolutionary wave has exceeded all previsions. Now everything will depend upon the extent to which our Party will be able to utilize the confidence which the masses place in it in order to lead the extra-parliamentary struggle, the struggle against the capitalist offensive, and mass unemployment, the struggle against Fascism. **The greatest danger is the continuation of the present course** whose culminating point is now the "program for the national and social liberation of the German people". **Fascism cannot be vanquished on the basis of national-Bolshevism;** the Fascists cannot be conquered by exchanging amicable discussion articles with them in the Communist and national socialist press **(Berlin am Morgen, Nationalsozialist).** If this course is continued, the present success of the Party will be transformed into its opposite. In the competition of "national Bolshevism versus Fascism", it is Fascism that will triumph.

* * *

In the struggle against Fascism, the central point, now as before, is the social democratic workers whom we must win over, with whom we must make a united class front against Fascism.

The Left Opposition in Germany will have to work in the weeks to come, under still more difficult conditions. The Party masses still follow the policy of Centrism in their majority. The success of yesterday threatens to render them insensible to the dangers before us.

The Left Opposition was not taken unawares by the events. It will continue to fight with increased strength to save the Party from disaster the danger of which is greater than it would seem; in this electoral struggle during which the Party leadership trampled the principles of Communism under foot it has begun to poison the most precious thing the Party has: the internationalist class position of the cadres of the Party, it has undermined the ideological resistance power of the Party, it has yielded ideologically to Fascist pressure.

Today's victory brings to light the elements of an inevitable efeat, unless the pressure of the proletarian kernel of the Party radically changes the political life of the Party.

Berlin, September 15, 1930

—KURT LANDAU

ON MAURICE MALKIN

Last minute technical difficulties made the omission of a report on the visit made to Comstock Prison, New York, to see comrade Maurice L. Malkin. unavoidable. In the next issue the Militant will publish an account of this visit made to our Opposition fighter in prison by Max Shachtman, Sylvia Bleeker, Rose Karsner and other comrades. It will be highly interesting. In the meantime. all comrades are urgently requested to write to comrade Malkin. He told his visitors that the day he receives a letter from a comrade is a Red Letter day in his life. Write about the movement and the struggle. Write often. Write regularly. Remember our fighters behind the prison bars and do not neglect them. He should be addressed: Maurice L. Malkin, No. 10061, Box 51, Comstock, N.Y.

The C.P.G. in the Campaign

The outcome of the German elections has been a violent—though not unexpected—political shake-up, an indication of the rapid shifting of class forces that has been taking place for some time—to be precisie since the adoption of the Young Plan. The enormous Fascist victory and the quite substantial gains of the Communist Party are only the beginning of a radical trend which German politics will follow in the days to come. We may yet witness many vacillations in the degree of influence of the Fascists and the C.P.G. during the course of developments, but with the increasing enslavement of the German proletariat through unemployment, taxation and wage cuts; with the progressive impoverishment and declassing of the small bourgeoisie due to the ruthless attempt of the capitalist class to force the burden of the reparations on the lower classes, the dilemma: Fascism or Communism, is definitely on the order of the day in Germany.

With such a perspective before us, it would be well to review the progress of the German Communist Party, to inspect its forces and fighting ability. The elections brought the Party a gain of over 1,000,000 votes, not be overestimated in importance when we consider the almost octupled increase of the Fascists, (over 5,000,000!) but nevertheless a great advance, especially taking into account the gains in such a strategic center as Berlin, where the Communists surpassed the social democrats and became the strongest party. However, we must ask ourselves: How did the Party face the elections? How did it appeal to the workers on this occasion? These questions are indispensible for a real accounting.

The C.P.G.'s Programmatic Declaration

And here we receive as an answer the amazingly shameless document known as the "Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.G. on the **National** and Social Emancipation of the German People": It is a document whose very title betrays it to be a petty bourgeois electioneering device, an unscrupulous means of competing with the demagogic "national" slogans of the Fascists, the Hitlerites. It points out the social democracy to the masses not so much as the agent of the German bourgeoisie, but as "the voluntary agents of French and Polish imperialism"; it speaks of their "high treason" in almost the same tones as Hitler does; finally, it sees the **"point of departure** of the enslavement of all German workers" in the "Versailles robber treaty"! Not the **class rule** of the German bourgeoisie, but the Versailles treaty, which is the summary of the struggle between the German and the Allied imperialists has become the "point of departure of the enslavement of all German workers"! As a consequence, the necessity of the struggle for immediate demands against the capitalist offensive at home is shelved or reduced to insignificance, the entire election campaign is centered around the irresponsible and all too general slogan: "In the event of our seizing power we shall declare null and void all obligations arising out of the Versailles Peace". A very strong echo of the "national-Bolshevik" deviations of the German infantile "Lefts" of 1919 (Laufenberg-Wolfheim) and of the Brandlerites in 1923.

Lenin gave the "national-Bolsheviks" and the infantile "Lefts" of 1919 the proper Marxist reproof. It still holds good today for the Thaelmanns and Neumanns, and all those who carry out the Centrist, nationally limited line of Stalin in Germany.

Lenin's View

"We Communists," wrote Lenin, "are not at all bound to repudiate the Versailles treaty—or what is more, to repudiate it immediately. The possibility of successfully repudiating the treaty **depends not only upon the German, but also upon the international success** of the Soviet movement." (Left Wing Communism.)

The election campaign, with the crassly nationalist note that accompanied it, was the purest expression of ultra-Left opportunism. At a time when the oppression of the masses is heading for a crisis, when it is necessary, in a campaign of broad struggle to break the ground for the decisive blows against the class enemy by a sharply outlined, patient and sober campaign to win authority and leadership among the workers, the German Party leadership offered nothing more than the as yet vague slogan of a Soviet Germany. That this slogan of necessity expressed the **immediate** reaction of over four and a half million German workers is gratifying, to be sure But what guarantee is there that these workers, who thus voiced their dissatisfaction with the existing regime and their desire for a workers' Germany, will follow the Party in the struggle beyond the ballot box? Do the recent economic struggles, perhaps, offer such a guarantee? No, indeed! The defeats of Mansfeld and the Northwest in July of this year, the latest in a whole string of strike failures since the Ruhr fight of 1928, bespeak the contrary.

In a moment of splendid opportunity for mass work in the factories and in the broad working class organizations the Party leadership present an ultra-Left sounding parliamentary spectacle to the German working class, hiding its real impotence to cope with the situation as a Bolshevik Party should. The nationalistic mimicry of the Fascists, heaped upon the general confusionist theories of "social-fascism" and the "immediate revolutionary situation" with all their subsequent isolationist tactics, keep the Party corralled, bound, unable to carry out its historic task.

The Capitalist Offensive

Immediately after the papier-mache "victory" of the elections, the fierce, all-round offensive of the bourgeoisie is only coming into its real swing, is gaining its full amplitude. A **Times** dispatch, dated Berlin, September 26, reports:

"The conscription of labor probably will replace the system of unemployment doles in the government's new program of financial reforms, and it will be only **one of several** innovations to which recourse will be taken in a final attempt to prevent the collapse of Germany's financial structure.

"The government's plans include also an increase in the number of **indirect** taxes in the move to reduce direct imposts . . . In keeping with its scheme for cuts in production costs and retail prices, the government **intends to reach an agreement with the trade unions providing for a reduction of 10 percent in wages."**

The drive of the capitalist class against the standard of living of the working class, for the abolition of even the meager "dole" is coming to a head. The social democracy, in the Mueller coalition government, in the yellow trade unions, has supported this drive by the most revolting acts of treachery and deception. But as yet not even the most elementary steps have been taken to organize the proletarian defensive which would reveal the true countenance of fascism and social democracy before the workers.

The Role of the Thaelmanns

Confined in its stifling atmosphere of self-deception and illusion, the Party leadership has failed to do its duty. It is not yet too late to regain lost time, to repair the Party and prepare it for the historic battles to come. Our German Opposition comrades are leading in the fight to unmask the incapable epigonic Thaelmann-Neumann leadership before the Party, to instigate the membership to throw off the shackling theory of "social fascism" and all its tactical deductions, as well as the whole dangerous playing with "national-Bolshevik" phrases, to rehabilitate and reconstitute it as the weapon of the working class, now more indispensible than ever.

The struggle to follow, the fight against unemployment, for the seven hour day, for credits to the Soviet Union, for a broad defensive against wage cuts, will in Germany, as here and everywhere, prove the justice of the policy of the Left Opposition. We, the Leninists of the entire world, know the import of the coming class struggles in Germany. It is for this reason that we look ahead with such anxiety towards the progress of the German Party, fighting for its renovation and the Comintern's, in order to help that "international success of the Soviet movement" which alone can forever tear up the Versailles Treaties, the Young Plans and every other remnant of capitalist class rule.

—SAM GORDON

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To the Chinese and World Communists !

Perspectives and Tasks of the Chinese Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

truth that their bourgeoisie can not, and does not want to, and never will fight either against the so-called "feudalism"—since the latter constitutes the most important part of its own system of exploitation—or against that imperialism, of which it is an agent and under whose military protection it operates.

As soon as it became evident that the Chinese proletariat, in spite of all the obstructions offered by the Comintern was eager to get on its own independent revolutionary road, the bourgeoisie, with the help of the foreign imperialists, demolished the workers, beginning at Shanghai. As soon as it was clear that the friendship with Moscow was not able to paralyze the uprising of the peasants, the bourgeoisie shattered the peasant movement. The spring and summer of 1927 were the months of the greatest crimes of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Frightened by the consequences of its mistakes, the Stalinist faction tried at the end of 1927 to make up at once for what it had let slip up for a whole period of years. Thus was organized the insurrection in Canton. The leaders assumed that the revolution was still on the rise. In reality it was already completely on the decline. The heroism of the advanced workers could not prevent the disaster caused by the adventure of these leaders. The Canton insurrection was drowned in blood. The second Chinese revolution was completely demolished.

We, the representatives of the International Left Opposition, the Bolshevik-Leninists, were from the very beginning against joining the Kuo Min Tang and for an independent proletarian policy. From the very beginning of the revolutionary rise we demanded the organization of workers, soldiers and peasants soviets. We demanded that the workers should stand at the head of the peasant insurrection and lead the agrarian revolution to its end. Our course was rejected. Our supporters were persecuted, expelled from the Comintern and those in the U.S.S.R. were arrested and exiled. In the name of what? In the name of a union with Chiang Kai-Shek.

The Crushing of the Revolution

After the counter-revolutionary **coup d'Etat** in Shanghai and Wuhan we, the Left Communists gave insistent warning that the second Chinese revolution is over, that a period of temporary triumph of the counter-revolution had supervened, and that an attempt at an insurrection of the advanced workers in face of the general depression and weariness of the masses, will inevitably bring a further criminal extermination of the revolutionary forces. We demanded a transition to the defensive, the strengthening of the underground organization of the Party participation in the economic struggles of the proletariat and the mobilization of the masses under the slogans of democracy; the independence of China, the right of self-determination of the different nationalities in the population, a national assembly, confiscation of the land, eight-hour working day. Such a policy would have given the Communist vanguard the possibility to emerge gradually from its defeat, to re-establish connection with the trade unions and with the unorganized masses of city and country and be ready to meet later in full arms the new revolutionary rise.

The Stalinist faction denounced our policy as that of "liquidators" while itself, as has happened before in its history passing from opportunism to adventurism. In February 1928, when the Chinese revolution was at its extreme decline, the IX Plenum of the E.C.C.I. announced in China a course towards armed insurrection. The results of this madness was a further defeat of the workers, extermination of the best revolutionaries, a split in the Party and demoralization in the ranks of the workers.

The decline of the revolution and the temporary weakening of the fight between the militarists, made possible a certain economic revival in the country. Strikes began over again. But they were conducted independently of the Party, which, not understanding the situation, was absolutely unable to show the masses the new perspectives and unite them under the democratic slogans of the transitory period. As a result of mistakes, opportunism and adventurism, the Communist Party at present counts in its ranks only a few thousand workers. In the Red trade unions according to the data of the Party itself, there are about 60,000 workers. In the months of the revolutionary rise there were about 3,000,000 of them.

The counter-revolution left its mark directly and much more ruthlessly on the workers than on the peasants. The workers in China are not numerous and are concentrated in the industrial centers. The peasants are protected to a certain degree by their numbers and their diffusion over vast spaces. The revolutionary years trained up in the country quite a few local leaders, and the counter-revolution did not succeed in exterminating them all. A considerable number of revolutionary workers hid themselves in the country from the militarists. For the last decade a considerable number of arms were scattered all over the country. In conflicts with local administrators or military units, these arms are produced by the peasants and companies of Red irregulars are organized. In the armies of the bourgeois counter-revolution, agitations often take place, and at times, open revolts. Soldiers with their arms desert to the side of the peasants, sometimes in groups, sometimes in whole companies.

The Peasant Uprisings

Hence it is quite natural that even after the defeat of the revolution, waves of the peasant movement continued to roll up to the various provinces of the country and at present have burst out with special force. With armed hands, the peasants drive out and exterminate the local landlords, as many as are to be found in their regions, and especially the socalled gentry and Tuchuns, the local representatives of the ruling class—the bureaucrat-proprietors, the usurers and the rich peasants.

When the Stalinists talk about a Soviet government established by the peasants over a considerable part of China, they do not simply show their credulity and superficiality, but obscure and misrepresent the fundamental problem of the Chinese revolution. A peasantry, even the most revolutionary, is not able to create an independent government. It can only support the government of another class, dominating in the cities. The peasantry in all decisive moments follow either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Socalled "peasant parties" can only disguise this fact, but they cannot annul it. Soviets are the organs of power of a revolutionary class antagonistic to the bourgeoisie. This means that the peasantry is unable to organize a Soviet system by its own force. The same is true of an army. More than once the peasantry has organized in China as well as in Russia and other countries. guerrilla armies, which fought with incomparable courage and obstinacy. But these were only guerrilla armies, attached to a local province and not fit for centralized strategic operations on a large scale. **Only the dominance of the proletariat in the decisive industrial and political centers of the country** creates the necessary premise for the organization of a Red army, and for the spreading of the Soviet system to the country. To those who are not able to understand this, the revolution has remained a book closed with seven seals.

The Chinese proletariat is just beginning to come out from the paralysis of the counter-revolution. The peasant movement is moving at present, in a considerable measure, independently of the workers movement, according to its own laws, and its own tempo. Meanwhile, the whole problem of the Chinese revolution consists of the political coordination and organizational combination of the proletariat and peasant uprising. Those who talk about the victory of the Soviet revolution in China, if even in separate provinces of the South only, in face of the passivity of the industrial North, ignore the dual problem of the Chinese revolution, the problem of cooperation of workers and peasants and the problem of leadership of the workers in this cooperation.

The vast flood of the peasant revolt might undoubtedly serve as an impetus to a revival of political struggle in the industrial centers. We firmly count upon it. But this would not mean in any case, that the revolutionary awakening of the proletariat would lead immediately to the conquest of power or even to the struggle for power. The awakening of the proletariat might in its first steps assume the character of partial economic and political, defensive and offensive fights. How long a time would it take the proletariat. and especially the Communist vanguard, to grow up to the role of the leaders of a revolutionary nation? At any rate more than weeks and months. The command of bureaucratic leaders can not replace the independent growth of a class and of its party.

The Chinese Communists need at present a policy of far aim. Their task consists not in scattering their forces among the isolated fires of the peasant revolt. Small in its number and weak, the Party will not be able to get hold of this movement. The duty of the Communists is to concentrate their forces in factories and shops, in workers' istricts. to explain to the workers the meaning of what is going on in the country, to raise the spirit of the tired and the discouraged, to form groups of them for the struggle to defend their economic interests, and for slogans of the democratic and agrarian revolution. Only in this way, i. e., through the awakening and the uniting of the workers will the Communist Party be able to become a leader of the peasant insurrection, which is to say, of the national revolution as a whole.

To support the illusions of adventurism and to disguise the weakness of the proletarian vanguard. the Stalinists say: The matter in question is only a democratic and not a proletarian dictatorship. In this central point adventurism is relying in full on the premises of opportunism. Not satisfied with their experiment with the Kuo Min Tang, the Stalinists are preparing for the future revolution a new means of putting to sleep and enslaving the proletariat under the name of the "democratic dictatorship".

The Slogan of Soviets

When the advanced Chinese workers promulgated the slogan of **Soviets** they meant by it: We want to do what the Russian workers did. Only yesterday the Stalinists replied to them: "No, you must not, you have the Kuo Min Tang, and it will do what is necessary" Today, the same leaders answer more cautiously: "You'll have to organize Soviets not f or a proletarian but for a democratic dictatorship." By this they tell the proletariat that the dictatorship will not be in their hands. Then there is some other, as yet undiscovered force which will be able to realize the revolutionary dictatorship in China.

Thus the formula of the democratic dictatorship opens the gates for a new deception of the workers and peasants by the bourgeoisie.

To clear the way for the "democratic dictatorship", the Stalinists represent the Chinese counter-revolution as "feudal-militaristic and imperialistic". In this way they exclude from the counter-revolution the Chinese bourgeoisie, i. e., idealize it, as they did before. In reality, the militarists express the interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie, which are inseparable from the feudal interests and relationships. The Chinese bourgeoisie is toi hostile to the people, too closely tied up with the foreign imperialists, too afraid of the revolution, to be eager to rule in their own name by parliamentary methods. The militaristic-fascist regime of China is an expression of the anti-national, anti-revolutionary character of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The Chinese counter-revolution is not a counter revolution of feudal barons and slave-owners against bourgeois society. It is the counter-revolution of all property holders—and first of all bourgeois proprietors—against the workers and peasants.

The proletarian insurrection in China can and will come only as a direct and immediate revolution against the bourgeoisie. The peasants' revolt in China is much more than it was in Russia, a revolt against the bourgeoisie. A class of landlords as a separate class does not exist in China. The landowners are bourgeoisie. The gentry and Tuchuns, against whom the peasant movement is immediately directed, represent the lowest links of the bourgeoisie, as well as of imperialist exploitation. In Russia, the October revolution at its first stage opposed all the peasantry as a class to the class of the landlords, and only after a number of months began to introduce the civil war into the peasantry. In China every peasant uprising is from its very first step, a civil war of the poor against the kulaks, i. e., against the village bourgeoisie.

The middle peasantry in China is insignificant. Almost 80 percent of the peasants are poor. They, and they only, play the revolutionary role. The question is not of uniting the workers with the peasantry as a whole but with the village poor. They have a common enemy: the bourgeoisie. No one but the proletariat can lead the poor peasants to victory. Their mutual victory can lead to no other regime but the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only this regime is able to establish the soviet system and organize a Red Army which will be the military expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poor peasants.

The Stalinists say that the democratic dictatorship, as the next stage of the revolution, will grow later into a proletarian dictatorship. Such is at present the teaching of the Comintern not only for China but for all countries of the East. It breaks completely with the teachings of Marx concerning the state and with Lenin's conclusions as to the part the state plays in revolution. The democratic dictatorship, differs form the proletarian by being a **bourgeois**-democratic dictatorship. The transition from a bourgeois dictatorship to the proletarian can not nevertheless be realized by the way of peaceful **"growing into".** The dictatorship of the proletariat can come into the place of a democracy, as well as of a fascist, dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, only by way of armed insurrection.

The peaceful "growing" of a democratic revolution into a socialist revolution is possible only under the dictatorship of one class—namely, the proletariat. The transition from democratic measures into socialist measures took place in the Soviet Union under the regime of proletarian dictatorship. In China, the transition will happen much faster, as the most elementary democratic problems in China have a still more anti-capitalistic and anti-bourgeois character than they had in Russia.

The Stalinists evidently need one more bankruptcy, paid by the workers' blood, in order to make up their mind to say: "The revolution has reached the highest stage, the slogan of which is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Towards the Third Revolution

At the present moment, nobody can say how much a reflection from the second revolution is combined in the present peasant insurrection with the far-off lighting of the third. Nobody can foretell now whether the hearths of the peasant revolt will be able to keep a fire burning continuously through all the long period of time which the proletarian vanguard will need to gather its own strength, bring the working class into the fight and coordinate its struggle for power with the general offensive of the peasants against their most immediate enemies.

What distinguishes this present movement in the country is the eagerness of the peasant to give it a soviet form, or at least a soviet name, and to make their own guerrilla armies as much as possible like the Red Army. This shows how intensely the peasants are seeking a political form which might enable them to escape from their scatteredness and impotenec. On this foundation the Communists can build successfully.

But it must be understood beforehand, that in the consciousness of the Chinese peasant the vague slogan of **Soviets** does not by any means signify the dictatorship of the proletariat. The peasants in general can not speak for the proletarian dictatorship **a priori.** They can be lead to it only through the experience of a struggle which will prove to them in reality, that their **democratic** problems can not be solved any other way except through **the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

Such is the fundamental reason why **the Communist Party of China can not lead the proletariat to the struggle for power, except under the slogans of democracy.**

The peasant movement, although adorned with the name of Soviets, remains disintegrated, local, provincial. To lift it

(Continued on Page 8)

Radek's Novitiate

What is Social-Fascism?

Radek has his novitiate to serve. Towards this end, he writes long-winded feuilletons in **Pravda** on "social fascism". "What is this, a rope?" as the philosopher said among the Chemnitz folk. And since the trouble is the readers of the numerous articles on "social fascism" disastrously forget all the excellent arguments of the previous investigators, it is up to Radek to begin from the beginning. To begin from the beginning means to declare that Trotsky stands on the other side of the barricades. It is possible that Radek had to insert this sentence upon the special request of the editorial board, as a moral honorarium for the publication of his article.

But still: what does the essence of "social fascism" consist of? And wherein lies its difference from avowed Fascism? It appears that the difference lies in the fact (who would have thought it?) that social fascism is also "for the carrying out of the fascist policy, but in a **democratic** way". Radek explains in long words why nothing remained for the German bourgeoisie than to carry out the fascization policy through parliament **"with an outward retention of democracy".** Then what is the matter in question? Up to now the Marxists were of the opinion that it is democracy which is the "outward" disguise of the class dictatorship—one of its possible disguises. The political function of the present social democracy is the creation of precisely such democratic disguises. In nothing else lies its difference fromFascism which, with **other** methods, **other** ideology, in part also with another social basis, organizes, insures and protects the same dictatorship of imperialist capital.

But—Radek seeks to prove—it is possible to maintain decaiyng capitalism only with Fascist measures. **In the long run,** this is entirely correct. From this, however, does not flow the identity of social democracy and Fascism, but merely the fact that the social democracy is compelled in **the long run** to clear the road for Fascism, during which, reaching the end, it does not deny itself the pleasure of battering in a considerable number of Fascist heads. Such objections, however, are declared by Radek to be an "extenuation of the social democracy". This terrible revolutionist apparently thinks that to rub out the bloody tracks of imperialism with the brush of democracy is a higher and more eminent mission than to defend the imperialist coffers with blackjack in hand.

Radek cannot deny that the social democracy clings to parliamentarism with all its feeble power, for all the sources of its influence and welfare are bound up with this artificial mechanism. But, protests the inventive Radek, it is nowhere said that Fascism requires the formal dispersal of parliament. Just look! But it was precisely that political party which, in Italy for the first time, destroyed the parliamentary machine in the name of the Praetorian Guard of bourgeois class rule, that was called Fascism. This means nothing, it appears. Fascism as a phenomenon is one thing. its essence is another. Radek finds that the destruction of parliamentarism is, apparently not the kind of democracy is taken as such. "What is this, a rope?"

But since he feels that this does not pass off so smoothly, Radek adds with still greater inventiveness: "Even Italian Fascism did not disperse the parliament right away (!)". What is true, remains true. And yet it did disperse it, without sparing even the social democracy, the finest flower in the parliamentary bouquet. With Radek it looks as though the social fascists dispersed the Italian parliament, only not right way, but after reflection. We are afraid that Radek's theory does not quite explain to the Italian workers why the social fascists live in the emigration. The German workers, too, will not easily grasp who it really is in Germany that wants to disperse the parliament: the Fascists or the social democrats?

All of Radek's arguments. like those of his tutors, imply that the social democracy is in no way an ideal democracy (that is apparently not the kind of democracy that Radek saw in his roseate dream after the reconciliatory embraces with Yaroslavsky). The profound and fertile theory of social fascism is not built upon the foundation of a materialist analysis of the **particular, specific** function of the social democracy, but upon the foundation of an abstract-democratic criterion which is peculiar to the opportunists even when they want to or must occupy the extreme wheel of the extreme barricades (here they usully turn their backs to the wrong side and hold the weapon at the wrong end).

There is no **class** difference between social democracy and Fascism. Fascism as well as social democracy are bourgeois parties. and not bourgeois in the general sense, but such as protect sinking capitlism, which sustains itself less and less, not only with democratic forms, but also with the least firm legality. That is precisely why the social democracy is condemned to sink down to nothing, giving way to Fascism at one pole and to Communism at the other.

The difference between blondes and brunettes is not so great, at any rate substantially less than the difference between men and apes. Anatomically and physiologically, blondes and brunettes belong to one and the same species of life, can belong to one and the same nationality, also one and the same family, and finally, both can be the same scoundrels—and notwithstanding, the skin and hair coloring has its significacce not only in the police pass but in living relations as a whole. Radek, however, in order to earn the hearty applause of Yaroslavsky, wants to prove that the brunette is at bottom a blonde, only with dark skin and black hair.

There are good theories in the world which serve to explain facts. So far as the theory of social fascism is concerned, it is only fit for serving out the novitiate of capitulators.

—ALFA

Who Is «Betraying» Labor Defense Unity?

In the **Daily Worker** (September 29-30, 1930), Sam Darcy, one of the Stalinists, appointed to ruin the International Labor Defense, vents his feeble spleen at the Opposition for having joined with the I.W.W. in New York to commemorate the death of James McInerney, the I.W.W. Centralia prisoner who recently died in Walla Walla, Washington penitentiary while serving his term with the other Centralia men.

It would be time wasted to engage in a dispute with this individual who knows little and cares less about the struggle for the class war fighters whom capitalism snatches out of the ranks and confines in its penitentiaries—if if were not that Darcy's whole outlook is so typical of the wrecking crew the I.L.D. has had foisted upon it.

Against what does Darcy direct his dull shafts? Against those who for the narrowest factional reasons sabotaged the united front for labor defense? Of course not. That woul mean an attack upon his own masters in the Central Committee of the official Communist Party. He strikes out instead, against the Left Oppisition for having sent a speaker to the New York memorial meeting for McInerney, arranged by the local I.W.W. which Darcy—either through inexcusable ignorance or deliberate malice—pretends to identify with the reactionary "Emergency Program" section of the I.W.W. (now outside its ranks) which controls the Central Publicity Committee.

At a time when the I.L.D. flourished, and was recognized by every honest worker in the labor movement as a genuine united front for the defense of class war fighters, tion. The I.L.D. had to fight and did fight successfully against those elements its struggle was in quite a different direc- in the I.W.W., in the Socialist Party, among the anarchists, who sabatoge the class unity of the workers' defense movement. This struggle, carried on essentially in the interests of the working class and its victims, was successful. In this fight for unity, the I.L.D. was built and strengthened. Look at the former National Committee of the I.L.D.—when it was headed by precisely those comrades of the Opposition whom Darcy now calumniates—and one will find, for example, the best representatives of the I.W.W. (as well as other groups) functioning on it (Gurley Flynn. Cline, Fred Mann, Ralph Chaplin, Charlie Gray, Dick Brazier, etc.) despite the hardly concealed antagonism to the International Labor Defense displayed by reactionary elements within the I.W.W. at that time. Then look at the "national committee" of the I.L.D. today under the direction of Messrs. Bowder, Engdahl, Darcy and asociated incompetents, and every one of its 20 members is a Communist of the Stalin brand!

Darcy writes: "While in the C.P., Cannon, the leaers of the Trotskyites, for years correctly fought against the syndicalist conceptions of the I.W.W." But this did not prevent—rather it assisted—us from uniting in one defense front with the revolutionary elements in the I.W.W. Now, however, the agglomeration of Darcys "fight syndicalism" so "correctly" that it has succeeded in alienating every synerate with the Communists in the labor dicalist workers who was willing to coop- defense movement.

But the impression should not prevail that Darcy's Marxism is outraged at the idea of speaking at one meeting with I.W.W. members. The truth of the matter is that when Herbert Mahler, of the New York I.W.W., telephoned the I.L.D. National office for a speaker at the McInerney meeting, he was told that the I.L.D. "can get along all right with the I.W.W." but they wouldn't speak from the same platform with "the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites who are stabbing us in the back". The anarchist and S.P. representatives' presence did not disturb the Darcys; but they were ready to hurt still more the name once gained by the I.L.D. if only it soothed their factional rage against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists".

The I.L.D. can never regain its prestige until it has rid itself of these miserable masqueraders.

Besmirching the IWW

We have received a copy of a leaflet issued on the Philadelphia waterfront in English and Polish, signed by the "Marine Transport Workers of the I.W.W." In the last paragraph we read:

"The I.W.W. is now as it was then, against any politician's attempt to organize LABOR Unions to war against Churches and governments and this is the hidden program of the Communists."

One would have to go far and wide to find a similar pronouncement in any of the literature issued by the I.W.W. in its long career. In fact. it contains the word and spirit of the most reactionary elements in the American labor movement, and has not the slightest thing in common with the whole tradition of the I.W.W. To the contrary. A glance at the past publications of the I.W.W. will show that they conducted a systematic campaign of education "against Churches and Governments"—the latter as the political instrument of the capitalist class and the former as the befuddler of the working class. It is quite true that no labor union can make "anti-churchism and anti-governmentism" a pre-requisite for membership; but a trade union that calls itself class conscious and revolutionary must carry on a daily campaign of enlightenment among the backward workers to explain to them the reactionary role of capitalist government and its whole system of religious superstition.

The leaflet in question does precisely the opposite. It plays down to the most reactionary and mystical prejudices of the backward workers. Its author sinks to the lowest levels in the proletariat, instead of remaining on class conscious grounds and endeavoring to enlighten these workers. The I.W.W. should condemn the leaflet and its author or authors out of hand. We are convinced that there are still sufficient militant, class conscious elements in the I.W.W. to see to the repudiation of this whole reactionary business. That sort of thing should be left to the capitalist agents in the A.F. of L. on whose lips it sounds more customary.

PEARLS OF PRICELESS PURITY

"The Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill is the center of our Party's election campaign. Every worker is either unemployed or threatened with unemployment. Every worker should be made to feel that ONLY BY ELECTING COMMUNISTS TO CONGRESS can a REAL battle be waged for unemployment insurance." (**Daily Worker** editorial. 9-20-1930, our emphasis.)

A Case of Base Ingratitude

A piteous wailing is being heard from the editorial offices of the **New Masses.** Teeth are being gently gnashed, and hair artistically torn. The bald and toothless sit around the wall and reflect philosophically that in this world at least there is no justice, and worse yet, no gratitude. The more politically minded artistes are advocating the passage of a law. The more violent among them are urging individual terror. Bedlam reigns over the recent article in the **Daily Worker** by Max Bedacht, M.A.* entitled "The 'New Masses' and Proletarian Literature".

Says Bedacht, in reply to Michael Gold's recent musings on the lack of American proletarian literature":

"There may be an underproduction of socalled 'light' proletarian literature in America: but this is due primarily to the barrenness and sterility of the self-styled 'American proletarian writers' Most of what they produce does not breathe the spirit of the proletariat. Most of these writers do not understand the worker. and do not know the workerks' thoughts. They cannot reproduce and interpret in literature the American worker, his world and his aspirations, and the process of revolutionary transformation of them. If the publishers and editors of the 'only magazine dedicated to proletarian literature in America' would study a little more intensely and follow a little more closely the contents of the literature published by the 'stodgy and unenterprising' International Publishers** it might fecundate the proletarian quality of their literary productions, as well as their literary style."

We will generously omit commenting on how the proletarian quality and style of Bedacht's productions have been "fecundated". But we cannot refrain from asking why the temperate Swiss barber should launch into such a tempestuous assault upon a loyal group of artistes like those in the **New Masses?** Is this the gratitude the Party polcom shows to Michael Gold, who worked so hard in the sewer to bespatter Trotsky in one issue and sock Lovestone in the next? Isn't this the same Gold who told us, while Bedacht and the other Browders nodded benign approval, that it is Trotsky who doesn't understand the workers, that he is . . . an aristocrat? Yes, yes, it is the very same Gold and the identical **New Masses.**.

We cannot honestly say that this attack, conducted with the fury that only a Bedacht is capable of, takes us by surprise. Only two months ago we wrote in the Militant, warning Gold that the raw deal meted out to another Stalinist valet, Barbusse, would soon hit him, too. We said of Barbusse: "The Stalinists have now rid themselves of that embarrassing baggage. Were Gold one-tenth the sage in politics he imagines himself, he ought to be able to read handwriting when it is written on the wall." As we see, he wasn't able to or didn't want to. He has only himself to blame. Or maybe he doesn't give a hoot. It's not at all impossible that "Jews Without Money" has relieved Gold of the necessity of worrying about what all the Bedachts mutliplied by two control commissions say about him in the Party press. He who lives will see.

*Master of Agit-Prop.
**Free advertisement by M.B.

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KLORKEIT No. 6

(Jewish Organ of the Left Opposition)

Issue Number 6 contains:

The Strike in Northern France, by A. Cornette. Manifesto of the International Left Opposition to the Commmunists of China and the Whole World. On the Eve of the German Elections, by Felix. The "Third Period" of the Comintern's Mistakes by L. Trotsky. "Aid" for the Soviet Union, bf A. Reinhardt. And numerous other articles of great interest.

10 cents per copy

Order from the Militant

25 Third Ave. New York, N Y

Stalinist Antics in California

LOS ANGELES—

An unemployment council was organized here and at one time it had 1200 members. But suddenly the order came to "dissolve the council: Have every one join the T.U.U.L." A meeting of the 1200 was called to tell them the good news and to elect delegates to the Unemployment Convention in Chicago. But where were the 1200—for only 50 showed up.

And really what was the use of coming to the meeting! Who did not know in advance that what happened will and must happen. Eva Shaffran read a list of nominees and they elected this list fo,r there was no other to elect.

Is there any wonder, after a council of 1200 members was reduced to 50 who joined the paper unions of the T.U.U.L., that at the September 1st demonstration some two to three hundred Party members, Y.C.L. and Pioneers were out while not one unemployed worker out of the 150,000 in L.A. took active part in it. The Stalinists say that this is due to police interference—but why were the masses not afraid of machine guns on March 6 when the Unemployment Council was still in existence?

* * *

The cloakmakers are on strike, 400 out of 500 of them, and the decision of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union is this: All those working in shops where the Right wingers are in the majority—go out on strike; all those who work in shops where the Left wing is the majority—remain at work! And although the strike is being conducted by the arch-reactionary Breslau of New York, and the police seem to be in cahoots with Breslau to permit picketing, and although we know that the I.L.G.W.U. strike is more of a strike to organize the bosses and sell them unionism than it is for the workers—the double bookkeeping of the Left wing remains ruinous. Strike and scab at the same time! The Left wing never was and never will be built this way. —B.B.

A Persecuted Socialist

The New York **Telegram,** semi-official organ of Heywood Broun, socialist candidate for Congress in New York, publishes the following heart-breaking account of the murderous brutality with which the New York police are attacking the noble socialist defenders of teh working class. The Communist leaders are sent to prison. Here's what happened to Broun when "arrested for picketing" in the Fifth Avenue garment workers' strike:

"Broun went along but not as the officer had expected. He hired a cab and took the policeman with him, directing the driver to proceed to the E. 51st St. station . . . .Magistrate Ford on Levy's (Broun's attorney) motion, dismissed the complaint.

" 'I got a big kick out of reading your column about my friend, Judge Brodsky,' he said to Broun.

" 'I'm very glad you did, said the polite opponent of Brodsky.

"Then to prove that no one held a grudge, Broun and the policemen posed for photographers. Broun's arms were around the cops . . . . "

We patiently awain the account in the next issue of the **New Leader** to learn whether Broun and the cops sang the "International" or just "Sweet Adeline".

Weisbord's Statement

In the last issue of the Militant, an omission was unfortunately made in the beginning of the final installment of comrade Alber Weisbord's statement. The omitted section read as follows:

"An analysis of the present situation cannot be complete or correct without a thorough study of all basic international questions. Only the movement headed by L.D. Trotsky has stressed the necessity for a truly international point of view, has fought the tendencies of national socialism, and has made such an international viewpoint the prerequisite warp and woof of every sectional thesis. The Left International Opposition (Trotsky) alone has correctly fought the opportunism embodied (1) in the theory of socialism in one country, (2) in the Anglo-Russian Trade Union committee affair, (3) in the Chinese Kuo Min Tang adventure. Nevertheless in view of the recent international events, it is necessary to make an independent analysis here of the chief international situations."

Our National Tour

Good Meetings for Saul in Mid-West Cities

Comrade George Saul, who has just reached Chicago by this writing, has been having a number of successful meetings in his national tour for the Communist League. Beginning in Denver, comrade Saul organized three street meetings virtually by himself. All of them were highly successful, and at the end of the third, many workers in the audience asked him to continue holding the meetings. Comrades of the official Party asked many questions which comrade Saul answered thoroughly. As a result of the Denver meetings, a beginning has been made in the work of organizing a local branch of the League Proceeding to Kansas City, comrade Saul spoke at three meetings there also, one of them in a hall on the subject of "Class Persecutions in the South", the other on a prominent street corner, and the third with the local members of the League. Saul's visit to K.C. had a lively effect upon the local comrades who write enthusiastically to the national office about the interest was been awakened, among new elements as well as among old-timers.

In St. Louis, comrade Saul spoke before a meeting of the Workers' Alliance, and another public meeting arranged by the Communist League branch. A lively discussion took place at these gatherings, with comrade Saul elucidating the position of the Left Opposition on the important problems of the movement, and in particular on the perspectives for the trade union movement in the United States. As a result of the second meeting, eight workers made application for membership in the League.

In Springfield, Illinois, en route to Chicago, comrade Saul met with a number of Opposition comrades and leaders of the Left wing miners' movement. Throughout the whole Southern Illinois territory, the once powerful Communist and Left wing movement has been thoroughly shot by the ruinous policies of the official Party. Efforts will be made now to assemble the Left wing forces again for concerted action. Some gratifying developments may be expected in Southern Illinois in the near future.

From Chicago, comrade Saul is to visit Detroit, Cleveland Youngstown. Pittsburgh and Philadelphia before coming to New York.

Quotations That Somehow Do Not Tally. . .

"Stalin is **not** a dictator. He is the **foremost leader** of the Russian Communist Party, indeed, of the world revolutionary movement. He is **'the best pupil of Lenin',** the clearest Marxian of the present day. Stalin enjoys great prestige. This he has won by his life time of splendid revolutionary service. Especially has his work been outstanding since the death of Lenin in 1924" . . . .

Wm. Z. Foster, Daily Worker. October 2, 1930.

* * *

"Comrade Stalin, having become general secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands. And I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution . . .Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of general secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc."

—Lenin in his "Testament", January 4, 1923.

"Hugo Oehler deserted his post in the South at a difficult moment without notice and simply disappeared. When discovered later in Chicago, he was found in a pathological condition suffering from hallucinations, which was the only factor saving him then from expulsion from the Party. He is suffering from a serious case of paranoia. His conversion' to Trotskyism is a by-product of his mental breakdown. The case of George Saul differs somewhat; he ran away from a six months' sentence on the chain gang in Carolina, **covering up his desertion** by leaving the Party and announcing himself as a Trotskyite."

—Statement by Earl Browder, **Daily Worker,** July 29, 1930.)

"It is significant that during the year and a half of bitter struggle in the South during which our organizer at Bessemer City, Ella May, was shot through the heart and killed by a mill owners' mob, during which **our organizer George Saul** was sentenced to the chain gang for attempting to hold a meeting; while another of our organizers Ann Burlak, now faces the electric chair at Atlanta, Georgia, for merely protesting to the police against the breaking up of a meeting, that during this entire period **there has not been a single desertion** of importance from the defense struggle under the leadership of the International Labor Defense."

(—Statement by the I.L.D., J. Louis Engdahl ,secretary, **Daily Worker,** September 22, 1930.)

The Left Opposition and the Chinese Events

Continued from Page 6)

to the level of a national movement is possible only by connecting the struggle for land, against tax-oppresion and the burden of militarism, with the ideals of the independence of China and the sovereignty of the people. A democratic expression of this connection is the plenipotentiary National Assembly. Under this slogan the Communist vanguard will be able to unite around itself the vast masses of workers, the oppressed small townspeople and the hundreds of millions of poor peasants, for an insurrection against foreign and native oppressors.

The organization of workers' Soviets can be attempted only in presence of an obvious rise of the revolution in the cities. Meanwhile we can only get ready. To get ready—means to gather strength. At present we can do it only under the slogan of a consistent, courageous, revolutionary democracy.

In the meanwhile we must explain to the advanced elements of the working class that a National Assembly is for us only a stage in the revolutionary road. We are steering our course towards the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet system.

We do not shut our eyes to the fact that such a dictatorshp will put before the Chinese people the hardest economical and international problems. The Chinese proletariat constitutes a smaller part of the population of China than the proletariat did on the eve of the October Revolution in Russia. Chinese capitalism is more backward than Russian capitalism was. But difficulties are conquered not by illusions, not by a policy of adventure, not by hopes of a Chiang Kai-Shek, nor of a "democratic dictatorship". Difficulties are conquered by clear thinking and a revolutionary will.

The Chinese proletariat is coming to power not in order to resurrect the Chinese Wall and under its protection to build a national socialism. By conquering power the Chinese proletariat will conquer one of the most important strategic positions for the international revolution. The destiny of China, as well as the destiny of the U.S.S.R. can not be considered except in relation to the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat. This is the source of greatest hopes and the justification of the highest revolutionary courage.

The cause of the international revolution is the cause of the Chinese revolution. The cause of the Chinese revolution is the cause of the international revolution.

THE PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION:

Rosmer. Landau. Markin

Russian Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists): **L. Trotsky**
Communist League of France (Opposition): **A. Rosmer**
United Left Opposition of the German C.P. (Bolshevik-Leninists): **K.Landau**
Spanish Communist Opposition: **Andrade, Gorkin**
Belgian Communist Opposition: **Hennaut**
Communist League of America (Opposition); **Shachtman**
Communist Left of Austria: **D.Karl, C.Mayer**
Communist Party of Austria (Opposition) **Frey**
"Internal Group" of the C.P. of Austria **Frank**
Czecho-Slovak Left Opposition: **W.Krieger**
Italian Left Faction: **Candiani**
New Italian Opposition: **Santini, Blasco**
Mexican Left Oppostion: **Negrete**

Φ

In this day of standardization, we offer the following form statement of self-criticism to be used by order of the Central Control Commission for rank and file members of the Party who are chosen to be the scape-goats for blunders initiated by the leadership: "I, the undersigned, do hereby acknowledge that the reason for our weakness in the ... district has been my outrageous opportunism, covered with equally outrageous Leftism. All the mistakes that were made are due to my inherent scoundrelism. My principal error was my failure to realize what a smart bunch of comrades we have in the Political Bureau. I know better now. I request that I be severely punished (you can't be too hard on me), and should anything go wrong in the future I offer to take all the blame for it in advance. You see, I'll be blamed for it anyway".

THE MILITANT NEEDS AID!

A couple of months ago, the Militant announced that during the summer period it would be compelled to go back to semi-monthly publication, after which it would resume its weekly appearance. The summer months have drawn to a close and we are anxious to make every effort to publish the Militant as a weekly once more.

With its initial appearance, the Militant set itself the aim of reaching the workers with the truth. To tell the workers the truth about the capitalist system and the capitalist class is to liberate them from the mental slavery under which they live. To tell the truth about the situation in the revolutionary and labor movements is to liberate them from the illusions and deceptions practised against them by false leaders. To analyze and foretell events, by the teachings learned from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, is to help arm the working class in its fight for final emancipation. The Militant has one this systematically and with perseverance.

We have already accomplished a great work in clarifying the ranks of the revolutionary movement. But the big tasks we have set ourselves have only been begun. We are not deterred by the difficulties, nor by the malicious slanders of our adversaries in the labor and Communist movements. The powerful apparatus and matruth and the iron logic of Marxism in chinery they possess cannot overcome the which the strength of the Militant lies.

The coming months will be filled with events of international importance. The class struggle grows more intense in China. in India, the Soviet Union, in Germany and Austria, in the United States and elsewhere. The Militant will strive to the utmost to inform its readers truthfully about what happens and analyze and interpret these events from the revolutionary point of view. In this country, it is a work that the Militant alone is doing.

But its semi-monthly publication is a great handicap. Our paper was created and maintained for almost two years by the efforts of a small group of rebels. Upon their shoulders has been placed the burden of support. Very little effort has been made to appeal for assistance to the militants outside our organization.

We want to re-establish the weekly as soon as possible. Towards this end, a fund must be created that will secure its regular publication. Every reader and friend of the Militant can and should contrib ute to this fund. Financial support can be rendered in two ways:

Send in a donation immediately as your share; or

Pledge and pay a sum regularly every month for the next six months. Twenty five to fifty cents a week ($1.00 to $2.00 a month) will not be a burden upon an employed reader, but a few score of such pledges will mean a weekly Militant

We are appealing to every reader of the paper. Respond generously and quickly. The moderate assistance of every comrade added together, will make a Fund that will supply the needed foundation for the Weekly. Send bills, checks, or money-orders to the Militant, 25 Third Avenue, New Fork, N.Y. Do your share in the drive!